

On Socialism in Habonim Dror

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I. Preface: Why this resource book?

Kupa is a socialist structure, but socialism is much more than kupa. In Habonim, discomfort around the failures of state socialism and the kibbutz movement has led many madrichim that I love¹ to ignore this central aspect of our politics.² The issue runs deeper than the number of peulot that tzvatim plan or the ways that we talk about avodah. The problem is that many movement members have not and are not learning much about socialism. Fundamentally, we cannot meaningfully educate chanichim about concepts that we are not engaging with as individuals or as a movement.

Part of the issue is that socialism means different things to different people in different contexts. In this resource book, I develop two conceptions of socialism. The first ignores the connections between socialism and the rest of our politics in order to engage with a mainstream focus on concrete economic structures. The second recognizes that socialism does not make any sense without understanding the personal connections between socialism, anti-oppression, environmental

¹ I include myself in this group.

² There is no single conception of “our politics,” but Habonim’s pillars and history can serve as a base.

justice, art, Judaism, Israel, states, economics, consensus, love, social movements, etc.

Maintaining a strong socialist identity takes effort when one considers the implications of the second conception. That work is both physical and intellectual. Armchair socialists not working in solidarity with marginalized and oppressed communities should barely be considered socialists.

Therefore, while education is an important way to actualize our values, it is only action in the context of other action. Movement members should not view education as a tool for social change if we only educate youth so that they in turn can educate future youth. As a radical movement, members of Habonim should make radical decisions outside of peulot. We must judge ourselves not only on the strength of our machanot but also on the actions of our chanichim, nachshonim, maapilim, and bogrim.

This desire to take further action poses a difficult problem. Our machanot and our seminars are isolated from many marginalized communities. Much of the work around race and class that we should be doing is impossible during the summer and at seminars. What is possible is the creation of supportive communities focused on individual and collective learning.

Hopefully, this resource book challenges how we think about education. Upon reflection, our informal education is only somewhat effective at transmitting knowledge. Instead, its true value is in teaching chanichim that there is something to learn in the first place. We have conversations that make chanichim want to learn more. Still, this radical step does not matter much if we do not give chanichim and ourselves the tools to learn more through action and additional resources.

Besides describing my goals and offering ideas for peulot, this resource book mainly consists of quotes from texts that I find useful. It ends with new ways to talk and work towards our socialist values as well as potential definitions of some relevant concepts. Hopefully, this resources book encourages some members, including myself, to continue learning about socialism.

Aleh vHagshem,

Ben Wolcott
0859

- June 2013

p.s. Thanks again to everyone who read drafts of this resource book and gave extremely helpful suggestions.

II. Goals

This resource book attempts to:

- Make socialism a topic of conversation, debate and exploration within the movement
- Create an understanding of socialism that addresses mainstream narratives and stigma within Habonim
- Encourage nachshonim and maapilim to view socialism as an active part of their identity
- Encourage nachshonim and maapilim to see socialism and social justice as connected (in that they cannot be meaningful understood in isolation)
- Support members of tzevet to run more complex and diverse peulot on socialism
- Persuade members of tzevet to celebrate and challenge the idea of machaneh as a socialist space and to work on ways to communicate that idea to chanichim
- Persuade members of tzevet to celebrate and challenge machaneh's socialist structures (e.g. asepha klalit, avodah, etc.)
- Provide quotes that encourage folks to continue learning about different topics that relate to socialism
- Provide ideas for peulot
- Present myself as a resource person

This resources book does not:

- Include resources or analysis on aspects of socialism that Habonim currently educates about often (e.g. shivyon erech haadam, structures of the kibbutz movement, etc.)
- Include many relevant topics due to lack of knowledge and space constraints
- Explore the complex ways that Zionism and Judaism intersect with socialism. This resource book creates a basic conception of socialism. Because many people are socialists without also being Jewish or Zionists, this resource book generally ignores those connections and tensions. Therefore, this resource book does not attempt to provide a full conception of socialism for everyone in Habonim. Describing those intersections is more than enough work for another resource book.

III. List of Concepts

This resource book brings together different concepts, many of which are defined at the end. The following list of defined concepts gives an idea of what topics will come up. If knowing these concepts will help you engage with the resource book, please look up any of the following in the back now:

Alienation, Ally, Anarchism, Anti-Oppression, Capital, Capitalism, Cisgender, Class, Colonialism, Commodity, Communism, Communitarianism, Concentration and Centralization of Capital, Conglomerate, Conspicuous Consumption, Corporate Power, Countervailing Power, Culture, Deregulation, “Development”, Discrimination, Diversity, Division of Labor, Ecological Sustainability, Economic Rationalism, Economies of Scale, Economy, Efficiency, Empowerment, Exploitation, Exchange, Feminist Economics, Fiscal Policy, Gender, Globalization, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Heterodox, Hierarchy, Ideology, Imperialism, Institutional Discrimination, Intersectionality, Labor, Labor Power, Labor Theory of Value, Laissez Faire, Liberalism, Market, Market Failure, Market Socialism, Monetary Policy, Money, Monopoly, Neoliberalism, Political, Politics, Power, Prejudice, Privatization, Privilege, Profit, Queer, Race, Realization of Surplus Value, Reserve Army of Labor, Social Construct, Social Justice, Socialism, Solidarity, Speculation, State, Surplus Value, Transgender, Transnational Corporation, and Value.

IV. Peulot Ideas

This section includes peulot ideas that you can run for chanichim of varying ages. There are not resources in this book for each idea, but a simple online search should generate some helpful resources for almost any of these topics. Furthermore, these issues can come up at almost anytime of the day.



(Wasserman)

Recent Events

- Financial Crisis and Great Recession
- Iraq as a free-market playground (see Klein 2007)
- Occupy Wall Street
- Israeli tent protests
- Bangladeshi sweatshops
- Student anti-debt movements in Chile, Quebec and the United Kingdom as resistance to capitalism
- Citizens United (Supreme Court case about campaign contributions)
- How schools/family portray these events
- Global warming and its ties to global capitalism
- Increasing Inequality
- Decline of unions
- Financial issues at machanot and how groups in the movement (e.g. central office, machanot, camp committees, chanichim, tzevet, etc.) relates to money and debt

Effects of Capitalism

- Impacts of neoliberalism in the global south (see Stiglitz 2007).
- Impacts of Poverty
- How schools/family portray capitalism
- Wage-slavery
- Importance of unions
- Sweatshops

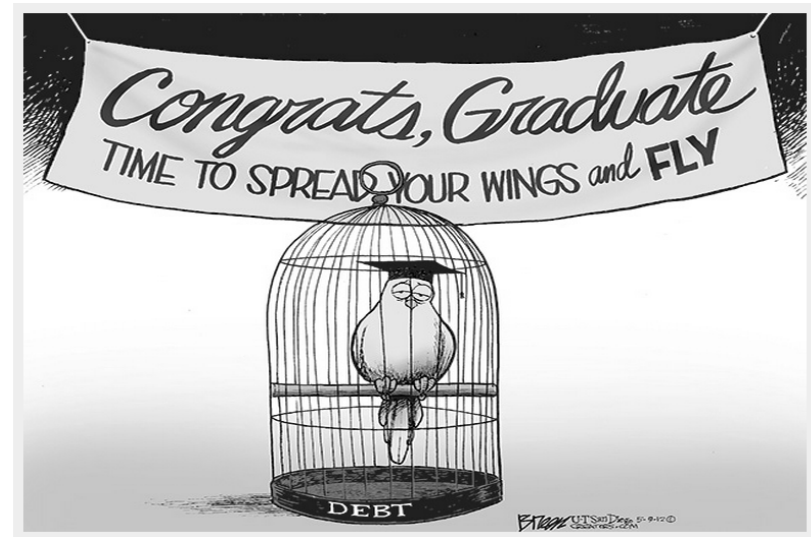
- Prison-Industrial Complex
- Military-Industry Complex
- Cycle of poverty
- Capitalistic elements of machaneh
- **Debt**
 - Student debt (over \$1 trillion in U.S.)
 - No such thing as equality of opportunity when debt is a fundamental part of American life
 - History of biblical jubilees (see Graeber 2011, see jubilee year in Leviticus)
 - How do chanichim resolve debts between friends
 - How chanichim relate to debt
- **Money**
 - What money is (see Goodchild 2009)
 - How money and democracy can/cannot work together
 - How chanichim relate to money
- **Limitations of mainstream economics**
 - Basic assumptions of economic models (perfect information, no transactions costs, rational behavior) – have chanichim come up with their own kooky models
 - Why people are irrational, look for fun psych studies
 - How parents/schools discuss supply and demand or other economic theories

- Concept of externalities, what they are and what it means that they are so hard to calculate
- Systemic instability in the financial markets
- **Heterodox Economics**
 - What it means that work in the home is not counted
 - Fossil fuel divestment campaigns
 - Problems that arise when things such as oil spills and wars add to Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
- **Socialism**
 - Socialism vs. liberalism
 - Socialism as more likely to be democratic than capitalism
 - What motivates chanichim in their lives (is it just profit?)
 - Have chanichim imagine their own utopias
 - Market socialism vs. Utopian socialism
 - Universal Basic Income (see Wright 2007)
 - Worker Cooperatives (see Wright 2007)
 - Wikipedia as socialist (see Wright 2007)
 - Social Democracy and Sweden
 - Intentional Living
 - Kibbutz and Irbutz Movement
 - Machaneh as a socialist space
 - Socialist structures at machaneh
- **Anarchism**

- The ways that the kibbutz movement is and is not anarchist
- Anarchism and socialism: similarities and differences
- **Organizing**
 - Why organizing matters
 - Coalitions
 - Problems with classic tikkun olam projects
 - Potential organizing ideas for home
 - United Students Against Sweatshops
 - Potential organizing ideas for machaneh
 - Universal Health Care and other welfare state programs as a result of long organizing struggles
 - Limitations of voting
- **Anti-oppression and socialism**
 - Doing ally work
 - Armchair socialists
 - Hierarchies in their lives
 - Inculcate a desire to learn about other peoples' experiences
- **Bringing values home**
 - Ways to act at home, at school and with friends
 - Role of the eizer
 - Local organizations to plug chanichim into
 - Local campaigns to plug chanichim into
- **Find a topic from an interesting zine on zinelibrary.info**

V. Conceptualizing Capitalism

Because socialism is an alternative to capitalism, it is necessary to understand how capitalism works and how certain institutions are justified.



(Breen)

A. Problems with Mainstream Economics:

Mainstream economics is a social science composed of theories and models about how goods and services are created and distributed. Many other disciplines also address this broad topic through other methods. Mainstream economics, however, has significant prestige in public discourse, particularly for policy decisions. This section highlights some criticisms.

- “The mainstream explanation [of economic life] focuses on how asocial, ahistorical individuals choose among scarce resources to meet competing ends given unlimited wants and explains it using fictitious concepts and a deductivist, closed-system methodology” (Lee 2010: 7).
 - *Many mainstream economic theories assume perfectly rational individuals who do not make mistakes, make all transactions instantaneously, make all transactions without a cost, and have perfect information (Gould 2004). Economists who use these powerful models do not claim that the assumptions are true but that the outcomes are close enough to reality. Often, the predictions of the models do not match reality but alternative models are difficult to create. Part of the problem is*

that it is impossible to model economic life so precisely if you make realistic assumptions about how individuals behave.

- “As it turned out, the most potent social-control mechanism was the ranking of economic journals and departments since it provided an ‘objective’ criteria for attacking heterodox economists and cleansing economic departments and graduate programs of heterodoxy” (Lee: 42).
- “Capitalism has a particularly problematic relationship with the environment because of its *systemic* association with exploitation, individualism, and consumerism” (Stilwell 2002: 305).
 - *Mainstream economists tend to either take these issues as fact or do not have adequate tools to address them.*
- “The idea of a self-adjusting market implied a stark utopia. Such an institution could not exist for any length of time without annihilating the human and natural substance of society; it would have physically destroyed man and transformed his surroundings into a wilderness” (Polanyi 2001: 3).
- “Economic liberalism misread the history of the Industrial Revolution because it insisted on judging social events from the economic point of view” (Polanyi 2001: 35).
- “For the self-regulating market was now believed to follow from the inexorable laws of Nature, and

the unshackling of the market to be an ineluctable necessity” (Polanyi: 132).

- “The double movement... The one was the principle of economic liberalism, aiming at the establishment of a self-regulating market... the other was the principle of social protection aiming at the conservation of man and nature as well as productive organization” (Polanyi: 138).
- “Economic liberalism... Born as a mere penchant for nonbureaucratic methods, it evolved into a veritable faith in man’s secular salvation through a self-regulating market” (Polanyi: 141).
- “Marilyn Waring said that the GDP system counts only cash transactions in the market. This means there is no value to peace, to the preservation of the environment, and no value to unpaid work. The GDP system leaves out half the population of the planet and the planet itself” (Marilyn).
- “[General equilibrium, game theory and IS-LM] have been shown, on their own terms, to be theoretically incoherent and empirically unsupported” (Lee: 7).

B. Debt

While mainstream economists treat debtors and creditors as equals simply trading future money for current money, many non-mainstream (heterodox) economists argue that debt structures social life in capitalism.

- “Debt has come to be the central issue of international politics. But nobody seems to know exactly what it is, or how to think about it” (Graeber 2011: 4-5).
- “The very fact that we don’t know what debt is, the very flexibility of the concept, is the basis of its power. If history shows anything, it is that there’s no better way to justify relations founded on violence, to make such relations seem moral, then by reframing them in the language of debt – above all, because it immediately makes it seem that it’s the victim who’s doing something wrong” (Graeber: 5).
- “If one looks at the history of debt, then, what one discovers first of all is profound moral confusion. Its most obvious manifestation is that most everywhere, one finds that the majority of human beings hold simultaneously that (1) paying back money one has borrowed is a simple matter of morality, and (2) anyone in the habit of lending money is evil” (Graeber: 8-9).
- “The new global currency is rooted in military power even more firmly than the old was. Debt

peonage continues to be the main principle of recruiting labor globally” (Graeber: 368).

- “[International Monetary Fund] policies of insisting that debts be repaid almost exclusively form the pockets of the poor were met by an equally global movement of social rebellion” (Graeber: 368-369).
- “The paradigm of the social lies not in exchange (economic and/or symbolic) but in credit” (Lazzarato 2012: 11).
- “Debt represents an economic relationship inseparable from the production of the debtor subject and his ‘morality.’ The debt economy combines ‘work on the self’ and labor, in its classical sense, such that ‘ethics’ and economics function conjointly” (Lazzarato: 11).
- “The power of debt is described as if it were exercised neither through repression nor through ideology” (Lazzarato: 31).
- “Debt is not only an economic mechanism, it is also a security-state technique of government aimed at reducing the uncertainty of the behavior of the governed” (Lazzarato: 45-46).
- “‘Responsibility for the debt becomes a feeling of guilt’” (Lazzarato: 78).
- “But even in the case where the recipient resists this invasion of privacy, the violence against his person and his subjectivity, he is no less troubled by the ‘work on the self’ these institutions oblige him to undertake” (Lazzarato: 135).

C. Money

Mainstream economists see three roles for money: a medium for exchange, a unit of account and a store of value. In contrast, many heterodox (i.e. fringe) economists argue that its true role in capitalism is that it, like debt, shapes social life.

- “Money exercises a spectral power that exceeds all merely human powers. Adapting itself to any desire, it also shapes desire” (Goodchild 2009: 12).
- “Money is both a means of payment and a measure of prices. As a measure of prices, money endows all things with a universal value: the prices is the same, whoever is the buyer” (Goodchild: 12).
- “Money is only ‘value in motion.’ One cannot achieve profitability without investing one’s money” (Goodchild: 12).
- “Wealth brings access to power: extrinsically through military superiority, access to information, sway over public consciousness, political influence, and selective funding; and intrinsically through investments, profits, growth, favorably negotiated contracts, and liberation from the constraints of the natural necessity and social responsibility that limit the economic freedom of those without wealth” (Goodchild: 12).
- “Speculative profits can be made only on the basis of profits extracted from production and

consumption, and to achieve this, an increasing quantity of the world's physical resources must be appropriated for production, exchange, and consumption through the colonization and commodification of the world" (Goodchild: 13).

- "Instead of assuming that the truth about money can be composed from a series of discrete, atomic facts – or that the truth about money is itself a fact – it will be assumed that what are of most interest about money are the concrete relations it forms and mediates within specific contexts" (Goodchild: 18).
- "Instead of assuming that the truth about money is independent of thought and time, it will be assumed that what is of most interest about money is interest and speculation itself: its temporal nature" (Goodchild: 18).
- "Instead of assuming that the truth disclosed about money is already true, it will be assumed that what is of most interest about money is what is promised by the truth of money" (Goodchild: 18).
- "The 'economic' functions of money (measure, accumulation, general equivalency, mode of payment) depend on a flow of another kind, that is, of another power. If money is not supported by a power flow, it disappears and the economic functions of measure, the means of payment of money, disappear with it" (Lazzarato 2012: 81).

D. Large-Scale Effects of Capitalism

It is useful to contextualize the impacts of capitalism as systemic. Mainstream economic logic encourages individuals to maximize well-being and companies to maximize profits. Structurally, capitalist societies protect private property through criminal law, property law, tort law and contract law.

- "Cheerleaders of capitalism attribute failure only to government, to individuals and occasionally, to organizations – but never to markets" (Smith).
- "Hundreds of trillions of dollars of capital – including taxpayer-provided funds – slosh through global markets in search of socially useless gains from trading in complex, unregulated and out-of-control financial derivatives, instruments Warren Buffet calls 'weapons of mass destruction'" (Smith).
- "The [Global Footprint Network] reported that the global consumption of resources is the equivalent of 1.4 Earths per year, which means that we consume 40 per cent more resources than the world can regenerate" (Wilczek: 5).
- "The world's richest 20 percent consume 76.6 percent of the world's total" (Wilczek: 8).
- "Four hundred individuals in the United States (the Forbes 400) own almost as much wealth as the

bottom half of the population (150 million people)” (McChesney and Foster 2010: 4).

- “A trillion dollars each year is spent on the U.S. military” (McChesney and Foster: 4).
- “The Happy Planet Index, developed by the New Economics Foundation, examines how “happy” a country is – as measured by a combination of life expectancy and life satisfaction in relation to its ecological footprint. In the 2009 Happy Planet Index, the United States – the very model of mature capitalism – ranked a dismal 114 out of 143” (McChesney and Foster: 5).
- “The wages of U.S. manufacturing workers have fallen rapidly during the last three and a half decades as a share of value added in U.S. manufacturing” (McChesney and Foster: 5).
- At the Uruguay Trade Talks, “It was so asymmetric that the poorest countries were actually worse off; sub-Saharan Africa, the poorest region with an average income of just over \$500 per capita per year, lost some \$1.2 billion a year... Seventy percent of the gains went to the developed countries – some \$350 billion annually. Although the developing world has 85 percent of the world’s population and almost half of the total global income, it received only 30 percent of the benefits – and these benefits went mostly to middle-income countries like Brazil” (Stiglitz 2006: 77-78).

E. Alienation

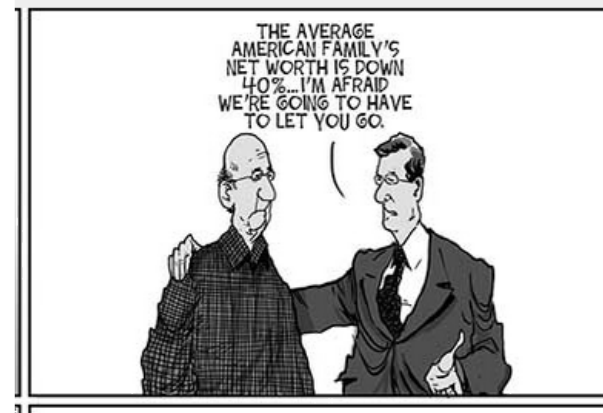
Central to Habonim’s current education around socialism is that capitalism systematically creates alienation.

- “In the Marxist literature, alienation is often taken to be a concept that describes and criticizes the social and economic conditions of capitalism. In existentialist writing, by contrast, the concept is used primarily to refer to a psychological, perhaps even spiritual, kind of malaise which is pervasive in modern society but not specific to it. Rather it is symptomatic of the human condition as such.” (Sayers 2011: 1).
- “Its primary cause, according to Marx, is the capitalist system in which ownership of the means of production is concentrated in a few private hands, and the direct producers have been dispossessed of everything but their power to labor, which they are thus forced to sell for wages to the owners of capital. In Marx’s words, workers are thus alienated both from the ‘object’ and the ‘activity’ of labor” (Sayers: 165).
- “By ‘alienation’ Hegel refers to the process by which ‘finite spirit’, the human self, ‘doubles’ itself, and then confronts its own other being as something separate, distinct and opposed to it (Sayers: 3).

- “Such estrangement takes the form of ‘inauthenticity’: of not ‘being oneself’ or ‘true to oneself’” (Sayers: 5).
- “There is an individual, subjective dimension to alienation and its overcoming. Will and choice are necessary. But they are not sufficient” (Sayers: 6).
- “Work involves both the separation, the alienation, of self from nature, but also the drive to overcome this separation and make ourselves at home in the world” (Sayers: 18).
- “Moreover, the overcoming of alienation is not accomplished simply by negating or abolishing the conditions that give rise to it. It cannot be achieved by a return to earlier, precapitalist conditions. Even though these are not alienating, they would no longer satisfy us” (Sayers: 95).
- “The possessing class and the proletarian class represent one and the same human self-alienation. But the former feels satisfied and affirmed in this self-alienation, experiences the alienation as a sign of *its own power*, and possesses in it the *appearance* of a human existence. The latter, however, feels destroyed in this alienation, seeing in it its own impotence and the reality of an inhuman existence” (Marx 1978: 133).
- “The worker sinks to the level of a commodity and becomes indeed the most wretched of commodities (Marx: 70).

VI. Socialism Beyond Kupa

In Habonim, socialism is often only taught as a meaningful lifestyle choice. While it easy to focus on collective living, it is necessary to educate about other aspects of socialism.



A. A Rough Sketch of Socialism

Having shown some reasons why individuals, communities, and movements might want to work towards an alternative to capitalism, this section briefly sketches some aspects of socialism.

- “Socialism: an alternative system of economic organization, contrasting with capitalism because of its emphasis on collective ownership of the means of production and social control of the economic surplus” (Stilwell 2002: 391).
- “The idea that society’s resources should be directed to serving the needs of people, not the profit dictates of the few. It is the socialization (democratization of the economic sphere, and also the enlargement (de-privatization) of the political sphere” (McChesney and Foster: 10).
- “We have reached ‘The End of Rational Capitalism.’ It survives now on bubbles, bloated debt, military spending that borders on suicidal, and a deadening hypercommercialism” (McChesney and Foster 2010: 9).
- “The old socialist slogan ‘Socialism or Barbarism’ made famous by Rosa Luxemburg, although meaningful in its time, may need now to be replaced with ‘Socialism or Exterminism”’ (McChesney and Foster: 9).
- “The classical notion was that socialist movements would succeed, not in opposition to



(Shenemen)

democracy, but as its champions” (McChesney and Foster: 10).

- “Just as democracy is not an accomplished reality unless the vast majority of the people rule society, so socialism is not an accomplished reality unless the associated producers control the productive forms of society and use them rationally and sustainably in the collective interest. The two, in fact, require each other for their fulfillment” (McChesney and Foster: 10).
- “The main lesson [from Sweden] is that those progressives who aspire to radical social reforms can only hope to have sufficient leverage to win these reforms if the threat of socialism is looming on the horizon” (McChesney and Foster: 12).
- “Socialists have no antipathy to private property *per se*; they oppose it only when it conveys the power to employ and exploit others” (Stilwell: 363).
- “Back in 1987, a poll of the U.S. population indicated that 45 percent of the population believed that Marx’s famous words from the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* delimiting communism – “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” –were enshrined in the U.S. Constitution” (McChesney and Foster: 15).

B. Beyond Socialism vs. Communism

In schools, chanichim often learn about the terrible actions that various socialist and communist governments have committed. In an attempt to distance Habonim from this disturbing history, many madrichim describe those governments as communist in contrast to Habonim’s socialism. This incorrect distinction paints communism as a perversion of socialism.

Part of the problem madrichim face stems from how difficult it is to define communism. David Graeber attempts this difficult task:

“I will define communism here as any human relationship that operates on the principles of “from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs. I admit that the usage here is a bit provocative. ‘Communism’ is a word that can evoke strong emotional reactions – mainly, of course, because we tend to identify it with ‘communist’ regimes. This is ironic, since the Communist parties that ruled over the USSR and its satellites, and that still rule China and Cuba, never described their own systems as ‘communist.’ They described them as ‘socialist.’ ‘Communism’ was always a distant, somewhat fuzzy utopian ideal, usually to be accompanied by the withering away of the state – to be achieved at some point in the distant future” (2011: 94).

With this historical conception of socialism, it is more helpful to explain to chanichim that the appalling governments that they learn about in school are perversions of socialism. Given how big the socialist umbrella is, some socialists argue that any form of state socialism should never be attempted, but there is nothing close to consensus.

Calling those governments communist instead of socialist hides what members of Habonim can learn from the historical problems that have arisen from state socialism.

Furthermore, honestly acknowledging the past should not make movement members unduly uncomfortable identifying as socialists. Capitalism has an arguably much bloodier history, and part of deciding to be political is having a sense of what a better world looks like. Refusing to choose what the economic system of that world should be is effectively a choice for the status quo and capitalism.

C. Socialism in Contrast to Liberalism

Capitalism is founded on liberal values while socialism is founded on egalitarian values.

- Historically, “The liberal focus on *individual* initiative contrasts with the socialist focus on *collective* action” (Stilwell 2002: 363).
- “The liberal emphasis on reward according to *merit* contrasts with the socialist preference for distribution according to *need*” (Stilwell: 363).
- “The liberal inclination towards equality of *opportunity* contrasts with the socialist emphasis on equality of *outcome*” (Stilwell: 363).
- “The liberal ideal of individual *freedom of choice* and free enterprise contrasts with the socialist preference for *community values* and social ownership or control of the means of production” (Stilwell: 363).
- Today, “Other liberals have taken a more pragmatic stance, welcoming (albeit with reservations) the expansion of the state as a balancing force against corporate power and as a vehicle for the extension of market-augmenting policies in pursuit of goals like equality of opportunity. This is the general position of modern liberal democrats” (Stilwell: 364).
- “Communism doesn’t work because we’re too selfish; socialism doesn’t work because people

cheat the system; welfare doesn't work because people won't work unless they have to; environmentalism is doomed because there's no financial incentive to care... and yet, people routinely pull over to the side of the road to help a stranger in need; soldiers volunteer to die in wars for abstract ideals; activists willingly get arrested for a higher cause; parents instinctively sacrifice their own well-being, their dreams, everything, for their children" (Lasn 2012).

- *In context, this statement is ironic.*

D. Disagreements Among Socialists Today

There is no single conception of socialism.

- "Mirroring the split in the liberal tradition, the split between the evolutionary and revolutionary wings within the socialist tradition is explicable in these terms. The revolutionaries in the Marxist camp have 'kept the faith' in the need for a rupture with the capitalist state as a precondition for the achievement of socialist goals. Their skepticism about the possibility of incremental reform is reinforced by the current processes of corporate globalization. Radical reformists, on the other hand, advocate seeking whatever progressive reforms are possible, working within the state in the attempt to transform its character in a more socialist direction" (Stilwell 2002: 364).
- "The Swedish economy is perhaps the most striking example of the concept of 'social economy' being given its broadest interpretation in practice. In effect, it constitutes a major experiment in seeking to blend capitalism and socialism. Instead of 'social liberalism' whereby problems like poverty and unemployment are seen as frictions in an otherwise harmonious system, the Social Democrats, in conjunction with the Labor Organization developed policies to challenge capitalist principles on a programmatic basis.

These policies have included reduced wage differentials, a high progressive income tax, the pursuit of full employment through a permanent labor-market policy, industrial democracy, and the use of superannuation funds to finance nationally targeted investment priorities” (Stilwell: 219).

- On Market Socialism:
 - “Not only is market socialism resolutely anti-capitalist, but it also embodies the best ideals and values of the socialist tradition, and it is faithful to the vision of an economy controlled by, rather than controlling the producers. Market socialism is not a ‘utopian’ socialism. It recognizes that at least at this stage of our development, none of our values will be perfectly realized, and there will indeed have to be tradeoffs” (Schweickart 1998: 20).
 - “Market socialism cannot deliver efficiency, however... market socialism suffers from the problems of the market itself. A market in a developed economy necessarily creates the problem of conflict between the capitalism and worker, between employer and employed. Under conditions of full employment, monetary incentives become blunted, especially when the work itself is uncreative or even injurious to mental or physical health” (Ticktin 1998: 73).

E. Real Utopias

Erik Olin Wright’s Real Utopias Project attempts to identify and support anti-capitalist “utopias” that can and do exist alongside capitalism.

- “Wikipedia is perhaps the best known example in the first decade of the 21st century of the anticapitalist potentials of information technology in general and the internet in particular.... 1. *Nonmarket relations: Voluntary, unpaid contributions and free access....* 2. *Full, Open, Egalitarian Participation....* 3. *Direct and Deliberative interactions among contributors...* 4. *Democratic governance and adjudication*” (Wright 2009: 140-141).
- “The idea of unconditional basic income (UBI) has a long pedigree, but has recently been revived, particularly in European discussions. The proposal has come under a variety of names: universal basic income; demogrant; citizen dividend; negative income tax. While the details may vary, the basic idea as already described in chapter 1 is quite simple: Every legal resident of a country receives a monthly living stipend sufficient to live at a culturally defined respectable standard of living, say 125 percent of the “poverty line.” The grant is unconditional on the performance of any labor or other form of contribution, and it is universal – everyone receives the grant as a matter of citizenship right, rich and poor alike.

Grants go to individuals, not families. Parents are the custodians of minority children's grants" (Wright: 153).

- "The oldest vision for an emancipatory alternative to capitalism is the worker-owned firm. Capitalism began by dispossessing workers of their means of production and then employing them as wage-laborers in capitalist firms. The most straightforward undoing of that dispossession is its reversal through worker-owned firms. In the 19th century the cooperative movement was animated by a strongly anti-capitalist ideology and constituted a central idea of the socialist currents that Marx derided as "Utopian Socialism" and subsequently became loosely identified with some currents of anarchism" (Wright: 165).

F. Organizing and Social Movements

While organizing may seem disconnected from socialism, it is the main way that people without much money create change in society. Furthermore, advocating for systemic change to capitalism inherently is connected to issues connected to class, race, nationality, gender, ability, etc. Many communities organize around these issues today, and socialists should join these campaigns. Political power is being built today, so waiting for some large-scale revolution is not an option.

- "Community organizations come in all shapes, sizes, and varieties. Every community organization holds all the complexities and all the hopes, dreams, and visions of the people who join it. Community organizations may look different but they all have at least two things in common: (1) Community organizations strive to develop a sense of community among their members. (2) Community organizations organize people to do what they cannot do by themselves" (Brown 2006: 1).
- "Community organizing, building the power of a group to change the world, is both an art and a science. It requires understanding your self-interest in the deepest sense, building relationships with others, and a desire to change the world" (Brown: 3).

- “Our history books often emphasize the “great men” who held positions of power and importance. In fact, history is made by all of us. Before civil rights activist Martin Luther King became known, there were countless Black leaders who stood against the oppression of the African-American community. The large-scale, glamorous victories stand on the shoulders of smaller victories, which we rarely hear about, and on the lessons of defeats learned by thousands of grassroots organizers” (About Community Organizing).
- “Given the power differentials in our society, most people cannot be heard without the amplified voice a group provides” (Brown: 9).
- “If you are trying to build an organization that will represent a certain broad group... you need to recruit *people who are representative of the whole group— now*” (Brown: 132).
- “Leaders make sure things go right with the organization in many areas. Organizations need many and different kinds of leaders. No one leader can do it all” (Brown: 188).
- “The traditional model of community organizing pointed to individual self-interest as the basis for identifying, recruiting, and developing leaders” (Brown: 192).
- “The reasons the specific leaders of these efforts were involved were more complex than economic self-interest or personal safety alone. For many

leaders, narrow definitions of self-interest do not fit. People also seek to make meaning of their lives. Making a difference matters to them. Living by their values and speaking out for their beliefs is an important part of their identity” (Brown: 192).

- “The focus of more privileged people often is on charity, which is other-oriented. If these people would look at their own pain and broader self-interest, they might then be better equipped to empathize with other people’s pain... They would then be more likely to develop or join political efforts or politicized initiatives that seek to address the root issues underlying the problems that they hope to ameliorate” (Brown: 202).
- “The iron rule of organizing – “Never do for people what they can do for themselves” (Brown: 209).
- “An organizing strategy assumes that problems exist in the world because of an imbalance of power” (Brown: 266).
- “From the birth of democracy in antiquity, it has been true that those with property will only concede fundamental rights to those without property when they fear for the very survival of their own privileges” (McChesney and Foster: 13).

VII. Defining Socialism at Machaneh: Spaces and Structures

With a fuller picture of capitalism and socialism, it is now possible to better define socialism and develop tools in order to analyze how Habonim is socialist and the ways that it should change in order to embrace this value more fully.



(Davies)

A. Two Conceptions of Socialism

The first conception of socialism appears in the last section: “Socialism: an alternative system of economic organization, contrasting with capitalism because of its emphasis on collective ownership of the means of production and social control of the economic surplus” (Stilwell 2002: 391).

While it is a valid general definition, socialism is an economic system embedded in social relationships. Therefore, a fuller conception of socialism would not separate the creation and distribution of goods and services from society. Socialism does not make sense without putting people and their relationships at the center. Consequently, people who identify as socialists must take stands on issues connecting to race, class, age, ability, gender, immigration status, etc.

A desire to incorporate these essential elements leads to the second conception of socialism as an identity. In this conception, socialists recognize that collective ownership is not a cure-all and commit to working to destroy all forms of oppression because they intersect. While this idea is messy, socialism does not make any sense without individuals or groups taking principled stands on issues that intersect with how goods and services are created and distributed. Class does not exist in a vacuum, so socialists engage with communities and their struggles.

B. David Graeber and Economic Relations

The next few sections offer tools to help members of the movement question how Habonim thinks about socialism. Graeber argues that there are three morals in economic relations, which are the theoretical foundation for the new tools I develop.

- “There are three main moral principles on which economic relations can be founded, all of which occur in any human society, and which I will call communism, hierarchy, and exchange (Graeber 2011: 94).
- Communism: “any human relationship that operates on the principles of ‘from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs’” (Graeber: 94).
- Exchange: “is all about equivalence. It’s a back-and-forth process involving two sides in which each side gives as good as it gets” (Graeber: 103).
- Hierarchy: “relations between at least two parties in which one is considered superior to the other” (Graeber: 109).
- **“I should underline again that we are not talking about different types of society here... but moral principles that always coexist everywhere” (Graeber: 113).**

C. Applying Economic Morals to Habonim

With these definitions in mind, socialists attempt to structure economic life around communist morals, may recognize a sphere for exchange, and attempt to dismantle hierarchy wherever possible.

We can use this conception of a socialist identity and how socialists relate to the three economic morals in order to examine different aspects of Habonim. Specifically, these ideas help us understand how machaneh works, how it can be better, and how it relates to our lives outside of machaneh.

Thinking about the concept **socialist structures** should help make sense of the different structures at machaneh and in what ways they do or do not fit our values. Furthermore, this should make it easier to think about some daily aspects of our lives outside of machaneh. For example, in what ways is tikkun olam a socialist structure? In what ways is it not?

Similarly, the concept **socialist spaces** should help make sense of the transition between Habonim spaces and other spaces in our lives. Considering the spaces we choose to enter and shape should make it easier to think more concretely about some of the bigger decisions we make.

D. Socialist Structures

Machaneh has many socialist structures.

Structures are specific institutionalized events, relations, and policies that make up spaces.

- What are the different structures at machaneh?
- Which of them would you consider socialist? Why?
- In what ways are each of the structures founded on communism, exchange, and hierarchy as defined by Graeber above?
- Are there problematic structures? What changes can we make?
 - For example, when planning tikkun olam at machaneh, it can be hard if not impossible to do meaningful work that addresses the needs of a community. Using a community service model, it is easy to plan a tikkun olam for the chanichim and not for the community. This relationship is often more hierarchical or exchange-oriented than communist. One potential solution is to focus some kenim around tikkun olam. Building relationships during the year could help machanot find ways to continue working together during the summer.
- How do we relate to money at camp? Debt in the movement?
- What socialist structures can we create outside of machaneh?

E. Socialist Spaces

Machaneh is a socialist space. Spaces are places that we choose to enter and can shape once inside.

Communities shape spaces based on shared values.

People travel between spaces with different structures that emphasize the three economic morals to varying degrees.

- In what ways is machaneh a socialist space?
- How do we build machaneh as a socialist space?
- In what ways is machaneh founded on communism, exchange, or hierarchy as defined by Graeber above?
- How socialist a space is machaneh? What are the possible constraints?
- How does living in a socialist space for a few weeks/months out of the year impact our other experiences?
- How does living in a capitalist space for most of the year impact machaneh as a socialist space?
- What other socialist spaces do movement members create? What are their strengths and weaknesses?
- How can we create more socialist spaces outside of machaneh?

VIII. Some *Possible* Definitions of Relevant Concepts

A few notes on these definitions:

- *These are some possible definitions. I sometimes include more than one to demonstrate different perspectives, but all of these concepts have countless definitions. They are contextually defined and often contested.*
- *Pretty much all of these concepts have flaws. That does not mean that they are not useful in certain contexts.*
- *All of these definitions have been ripped out of their context. There is a serious danger in creating a list of potential definitions. These concepts take more than a few sentences to describe and cannot be understood in a vacuum. Therefore, I hope that this list is more of a starting point than a glossary.*
- *There are many relevant concepts that I did not include.*

Alienation: “In the Marxist literature, alienation is often taken to be a concept that describes and criticizes the

social and economic conditions of capitalism. In existentialist writing, by contrast, the concept is used primarily to refer to a psychological, perhaps even spiritual, kind of malaise which is pervasive in modern society but not specific to it. Rather it is symptomatic of the human condition as such.” (Sayers 2011: 1).

Ally: “An ally is a person who is a member of the dominant group who works to end oppression in his or her own personal and professional life by supporting and advocating with the oppressed population” (International Spectrum).

Anarchism: “From its beginnings, anarchism’s core aspiration has been to root out and eradicate all coercive, hierarchical social relations, and dream up and establish consensual, egalitarian ones in every instance” (Milstein 2012: 11).

Anti-Oppression: “A perspective, a life approach and a prerogative for anyone who cares about equality and justice. It involves recognizing and deconstructing the systemic, institutional and personal forms of disempowerment used by certain groups over others. By examining things like social structures, group dynamics and patterns of oppression (like racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, etc) we can begin to work towards equalizing the power imbalance in our communities. Through this, we bring each other strength

by recognizing the interconnectedness of our struggles while deepening our understanding of our own roles, power and privilege in society, as well as the varied and valuable experiences of others” (Anti-Oppression).

Capital: “A widely used term that normally refers to capital goods, which are manufactured goods used in the production of goods and services (e.g. factories, trucks, machinery, tools). The term may also be used to mean money capital” (Stilwell 2002: 386).

Capitalism:

- “The particular type of economy based on private ownership of the means of production and the pursuit of profit. The term ‘monopoly capitalism’ may be used where there are large concentrations of ownership and control of capital. ‘Competitive’ or ‘free market capitalism’ are terms usually implying a wider spread of wealth and enterprise throughout the economy” (Stilwell: 386).
- “It is a market economy, featuring private ownership of the means of production and wage labor. That is to say, most of the economic transactions of society are governed by the invisible hand of supply and demand; most of the productive assets of society belong to private individuals either directly or by virtue of individual ownership of shares in private corporations; most

people work for salaries or wages paid directly or indirectly by the owners of the enterprises for which they work” (Schweickart 1998: 10).

Cisgender: “A person whose gender identity and expression matches the gender typically associated with their biological sex” (International Spectrum).

Class: “The division of society according to economic circumstances. Different views of class in political economy associate it with inequalities of property, power, and income” (Stilwell: 386).

Colonialism:

- “Colonialism can refer to a transnational process of domination, the policies by which it is carried out, and the ideologies that underwrite it” (Ramnath 2012: 3).
- “Colonialism is the acquisition and colonization by a nation of other territories and their peoples. Historically, colonialism is the practice of a stronger power extending its control over weaker ones, including economic exploitation of natural resources; creation of new markets for the colonizing nation; and the geographical expansion of the colonizing nation's ideas, language, and way of life” (Definition of Colonialism).

Commodity: Any good or service produced for sale rather than for personal consumption by its producer (Stilwell: 386).

Communism: “I will define communism here as any human relationship that operates on the principles of “from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs. I admit that the usage here is a bit provocative. ‘Communism’ is a word that can evoke strong emotional reactions – mainly, of course, because we tend to identify it with ‘communist’ regimes. This is ironic, since the Communist parties that ruled over the USSR and its satellites, and that still rule China and Cuba, never described their own systems as ‘communist.’ They described them as ‘socialist.’ ‘Communism’ was always a distant, somewhat fuzzy utopian ideal, usually to be accompanied by the withering away of the state – to be achieved at some point in the distant future” (Graeber 2011: 94).

Communitarianism: “social and political philosophy that emphasizes the importance of community in the functioning of political life, in the analysis and evaluation of political institutions, and in understanding human identity and well-being” (Etzioni).

Concentration and Centralization of Capital: “A term used in Marxist economics to denote the processes

transforming competitive capitalism into monopoly capitalism. Concentration results from the growth of individual business enterprises, whereas centralization means that the enterprises combine together into fewer units, through mergers and takeovers” (Stilwell: 387).

Conglomerate: “A company that has economic activities in many industries. Note that the development of conglomerates undermines the coherence of the notion of ‘industry’ as a means of classifying firms” (Stilwell: 387).

Conspicuous Consumption: “Consuming goods and services in a manner intending to impress, so that the satisfaction derives from the effect on other people, rather than from the subjective utility of the good itself” (Stilwell: 387).

Corporate Power: “The capacity of large corporations to use their economic resources to serve their own corporate goals” (Stilwell: 387).

Countervailing Power: “The power of one group (e.g. government, trade unions) to match and to resist the power of other groups (e.g. corporations)” (Stilwell: 387).

Culture: “Culture refers to the traditions, beliefs, patterns of behavior and creative productions of a particular

identity group, particularly those that are considered important by that group” (Useful).

Debt: “The difference between a ‘debt’ and a mere moral obligation... is simply that a creditor has the means to specify, numerically, exactly how much the debtor owes” (Graeber 2011: 14).

Deregulation: “The reduction or removal of state regulations on privately owned businesses. Such regulations may involve, for example, requirements concerning environmental standards, working conditions, occupational health and safety, or the reporting of information about business finances” (Stilwell: 387).

“Development”: “In common parlance, development describes the a process through which the potentialities of an object or organism are released.... The metaphor of development gave global hegemony to a purely Western genealogy of history, robbing peoples of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life” (Esteva 2007: 8-9).

Discrimination: “Discrimination will be characterized by experiences of unfairness by individuals, by denial of opportunities, and by under-representation of people with particular characteristics” (Useful).

Diversity: “Diversity refers to the presence of a wide variety of identity characteristics amongst the people in a particular community: old and young, big and small, from a wide variety of ethnic groups, representing different religions, from all classes, disabled and non-disabled, with a wide range of lifestyles and political beliefs, of different sexual orientations, and in a range of parental and family roles” (Useful).

Division of Labor: “The specialization of workers in particular parts or operations of a production process. It means that different workers are doing different types of jobs. It may (but does not necessarily) increase economic efficiency and thus enable the production of greater volumes of output. The *international division of labor* extends the process beyond individual nations, leading to a situation in which countries specialize in different types of employment (e.g. farming, mining, manufacturing, provision of services)” (Stilwell: 387).

Ecological Sustainability: “The compatibility of the economy with the physical environment. It requires that ecological systems are not irreversibly degraded by economic activities. The extent to which an economic system is ecologically sustainable is a criterion (along with efficiency and equity) by which it can be evaluated” (Stilwell: 387).

Economic Rationalism: “The belief that economic goals should have priority over social goals, and that such goals are better served by markets than by the involvement of the state, because markets ensure the convergence of private goals and the social goods” (Stilwell: 388).

Economies of Scale: “The cost advantages of large-scale production, arising where expansion of productive capacity causes total production costs to rise less than proportionately” (Stilwell: 388).

Economy:

- “A system for organizing the production of goods and services, the distribution of income and wealth, and the exchange of commodities. *Economics* is the study of the economy. *Political economy* broadens the study of the economy by recognizing the interconnections between the economy, the society, and political processes. The term ‘political economy’ can refer either to the system or to the study of it” (Stilwell: 388).
- “The discipline of economics is about developing theoretical explanations of the provisioning process, which consists of the real economic activities that connect the individual with goods and services. The mainstream explanation focuses on how asocial, ahistorical individuals choose among scarce resources to meet

competing ends given unlimited wants and explains it using fictitious concepts and a deductivist, closed-system methodology” (Lee 2010: 7).

- “From a heterodox perspective, economics is the science of the *social* provisioning process.... The heterodox explanation involves human agency in a cultural context and social processes in historical time affecting resources, consumption patterns, production and reproduction, and the meaning (or ideology) of market, state, and non-market/state activities engaged in social provisioning” (Lee: 8).
- “While economics concerns the most profitable distribution of scarce resources, political economy concerns just distribution” (Goodchild 2009: 30).

Efficiency: “The effectiveness with which economic resources (land, labor, capital) are used to achieve given social ends” (Stilwell: 388).

Empowerment: “Empowerment involves addressing the imbalance of power between groups in society. In order to achieve a true balance, it is necessary not only for a relatively powerless group to be given more influence, but for those in a position of power to give up some of that power” (Useful).

Exploitation: “According to Marxist economics, exploitation is the process whereby surplus value is

generated in a capitalist economy. More generally, it refers to the situation in which one class derives income from the labor undertaken by another class” (Stilwell: 388).

Exchange: “Exchange is all about equivalence. It’s a back-and-forth process involving two sides in which each side gives as good as it gets” (Graeber: 103).

Feminist Economics: “Feminist economists have questioned such fundamental neoclassical assumption in economics as the ‘separative self,’ the ubiquity of self-interest, the primacy of competition over cooperation, and the primacy of efficiency concerns over concerns for equity. They have tended to define economics in terms of real-world issues of concern to women, men, and children, rather than as merely the examination of choice under conditions of scarcity” (Ferber and Nelson 2003: 8).

Fiscal Policy: “The adjustment of government revenues and expenditures in order to affect the level of national income, output, and employment” (Stilwell: 388).

Gender:

- “Refers to the way societies attribute ‘masculinity’ or ‘femininity’ not only to various people, but also to various activities and even concepts” (Ferber and Nelson: 1).

- “A system of categorizing ourselves and each other (including bodies, desires, and behaviors) running through every aspect of culture and society, and intertwining with other categories and hierarchies (race, class, sexuality, age, ability, and so much more)” (Heckert 2012: 1).

Globalization: “The process whereby the significance of national boundaries is eroded as the density of international interconnections intensifies” (Stilwell: 388).

Gross Domestic Product (GDP): “The monetary value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period, though GDP is usually calculated on an annual basis. It includes all of private and public consumption, government outlays, investments and exports less imports that occur within a defined territory” (Gross Domestic Product).

Heterodox: Not orthodox (see economy).

Hierarchy: “Relations between at least two parties in which one is considered superior to the other” (Graeber: 109).

Ideology: “A system of belief. Ideologies, embodying particular value judgments about the economy and society, commonly give legitimacy to a particular socio-

economic order, e.g. neoliberal ideology as a justification for 'free market' capitalism' (Stilwell: 389).

Imperialism: "The political economic process whereby strong classes in some nations dominate over the people of poorer ones. Its hallmarks are empire building, territorial expansion, and domination of the weak by the strong on an international scale" (Stilwell: 389).

Institutional Discrimination: "This is where a whole organization operates in such a way as to discriminate against certain people or groups, because of inbuilt organizational structures and assumptions. This phenomenon can still exist, even where most or all of the individuals in the organization are committed to antidiscrimination" (Useful).

Intersectionality: "Civil rights / social justice movements cannot focus exclusively on any single form of discrimination because oppression is not neatly modular" (Definitions: Intersectionality and Oppression Olympics).

Labor: "Normally means work done by human beings, contributing to the production and exchange of goods and services. Wages and salaries are its usual reward. 'Labor' may also refer to the class of people who depend on for their livelihood on income from work, i.e. the working class" (Stilwell: 389).

Labor Power: "People's capacity, whether by mental or manual labor, to produce useful goods and services. Converting labor power into labor is a principal concern of capitalist management" (Stilwell: 389).

Labor Theory of Value: "The view that the value of a commodity depends on the amount of labor that goes into making it (given that the latter reflects what is current best practice or 'socially necessary')" (Stilwell: 389).

Laissez Faire: "A borrowed French phrase indicating the economy should be left to reflect the decisions of free enterprises in markets, rather than involvement by the state" (Stilwell: 389).

Liberalism:

- "Concept that a government should not try to control prices, rents, and/or wages but instead let open competition and forces of demand and supply create an equilibrium between them that benefits the vast majority of citizens" (Liberalism).
- "Concept that the preservation of individual liberty and maximization of freedom of choice should be the primary aim of a representative government. It stresses that all individuals stand equal before law (without class privileges) and have only a voluntary contractual relationship with the government" (Liberalism).

Market: “The place or process whereby exchange occurs between buyers and sellers of a commodity or an asset that can be held as private property” (Stilwell: 390).

Market Failure: the recognition that, in particular circumstances, markets fail to ensure beneficial economic outcomes. Market failures may involve the supply of *public goods* (items that inherently collective in the consumption) or *externalities* (cost and benefits indirectly affecting people other than those directly engaged in market exchange of the commodity in question, such that there are deficiencies in the formation of prices). Neoclassical economists acknowledge these problems but disagree over their relative importance” (Stilwell: 390).

Market Socialism: “A market socialist economy eliminates or greatly restricts private ownership of the means of production, substituting for private ownership some form of state or worker ownership. It retains the market as the mechanism for coordinating most of the economy, although there are usually restrictions placed on the market in excess of what is typical under capitalism. It may or may not replace wage labor with workplace democracy, wherein workers get, not a contracted wage, but specified shares of an enterprise’s net proceeds” (Schweickart: 10).

Monetary policy: “The adjustment of the supply of money or the price of money (the rate of interest) in order to affect the level of national income, output, and employment” (Stilwell: 390).

Money:

- “Anything that is generally acceptable as a means of exchange and a means of settling debt” (Stilwell: 390).
- “As the measure against which all things are priced, is the contemporary principle of the value of values” (Goodchild 2009: 5).
- “The ‘economic’ functions of money (measure, accumulation, general equivalency, mode of payment) depend on a flow of another kind, that is, of another power. If money is not supported by a power flow, it disappears and the economic functions of measure, the means of payment of money, disappear with it” (Lazzarato 2012: 81).

Monopoly: “Strictly speaking, ‘monopoly’ means there is only one firm in an industry. The term is also used more broadly to denote an economy in which the power of big business is dominant, i.e. *monopoly capitalism*” (Stilwell: 390).

Neoliberalism:

- “The ideology that seeks to justify the restructuring of the economy to increase opportunities for

private profit, often couched in the language of 'market freedoms' and 'individual choice'" (Stilwell: 390).

- "Ideological crusade that has culminated in the radical privatization of war and disaster" (Klein 2007: 17).

Political:

- "The political, more broadly, may take as its foundation the determination of the use of resources" (Goodchild: 30).
- "So, when achievement of a goal depends upon negotiation or struggle with other groups (or with a political system that contains other groups), that goal becomes *political*. A demand for the realization of the goal is a *political claim*. When political claims find cultural expression within a given group, this amounts to the *political dimension of group identity*" (Anatomy)

Politics: "As the exercise of human will on human will, is grounded on political economy through which the other is determined as a member of a class or as a friend or enemy" (Goodchild: 30).

Power:

- "In general, the possibility of imposing your will on the behavior of other people. *Economic power* refers more specifically to the capacity of

individuals or, more typically, institutions to exert influence (e.g. over prices, wages, or government policies) because of their command over economic resources" (Stilwell: 391).

- "There is purely physical power deriving from gravity, solar radiation, and chemical and atomic bonds.... Then there is purely human power of the will. It is expressed in speech and in action and is found in markets and in nation-states.... We have a third kind of power, the intangible 'energy' of the political, irreducible to physical force. It is the authority that guides and authorizes the action of will on will" (Goodchild: 29-30).

Prejudice: "Negative stereotyped beliefs about people with certain characteristics" (Useful).

Privatization: "The sale of government owned enterprises to private owners, the opposite of *nationalization*. The term 'privatization' is also loosely applied to any shift of emphasis in the economy from the public sector to the private sector" (Stilwell: 391).

Privilege: "This refers to the fact that certain groups are automatically accepted as worthy of inclusion, good treatment, respect and support" (Useful).

Profit: “The excess of revenue over costs. The nature and origin of profit has been a focal point for debates on political economy” (Stilwell: 391).

Queer:

- “Queer theory challenges either/or, essentialist notions of homosexuality and heterosexuality within the mainstream discourse (the “binary sexual regime,” to use historian George Chauncey’s phrase), and instead posits an understanding of sexuality that emphasizes shifting boundaries, ambivalences, and cultural constructions that change depending on historical and cultural context” (Goldberg).
- “Used as an umbrella identity term encompassing lesbian, questioning people, gay men, bisexuals, non-labeling people, transgender folks, and anyone else who does not strictly identify as heterosexual” (International Spectrum).

Race: “Biologically speaking, there’s no such thing as race... People give race “value” because it serves a function in society. That function in the United States is to suppress class conflict” (Olson 2012: 3).

Realization of Surplus Value: “According to Marxist economics, the conversion of surplus value into profit as a result of capitalist firms selling the commodities that have been produced” (Stilwell: 391).

Reserve Army of Labor: “A Marxian term used to denote the most marginalized elements of the workforce. It has nothing to do with military conscription! Marx saw the reserve army of labor as having three parts: a ‘floating’ form comprising workers displaced by technological change or the concentration and centralization of capital; a ‘stagnant’ form comprising people in irregular employment; and a ‘latent’ form comprising workers displaced from agriculture by the encroachment of the capitalist mode of production” (Stilwell: 390).

Social Construct: “A human creation rather than a fact of nature that has value only because people say it does” (Olson: 3).

- *While social constructs are not a fact of nature, this realization does not diminish their significant influence.*

Social Justice: “What people deserve according to their observation of, or transgression against, agreed laws and constraints in society... The concept of ‘social justice’ extends this commitment to fairness into other aspects of social life – education, health care, social care, access to benefits” (Useful).

Socialism: “An alternative system of economic organization, contrasting with capitalism because of its

emphasis on collective ownership of the means of production and social control of the economic surplus” (Stilwell: 391).

Solidarity: “Solidarity means to take sides with a group of people who are oppressed and exploited by a power that they are trying to counteract. The starting point for solidarity is that the interest of the addressee is actually shared or at least considered worthy of support” (What Is Solidarity?).

Speculation: “Buying and selling with a view to making a profit later when prices have changed (i.e. a ‘capital gain’), without making any productive contribution to the economy” (Stilwell: 391).

State:

- “The institutions of national administration, including the government, the public service, the judiciary, the policy, and armed forces” (Stilwell: 391).
- “The state... often looks today like some kind of specialized coercive apparatus or private business venture” (Nandy 2007: 364).

Surplus Value: “The part of the value created by labor that is not returned to workers as wages, but is instead appropriated by capitalist employers. This is a key

concept in Marxist economics. *Absolute surplus value* denotes surplus value obtained by lengthening the working day (or week). *Relative surplus value* denotes surplus value obtained by increasing the productivity and/or intensity of labor” (Stilwell: 392).

Transgender: “This term has many definitions. It is frequently used as an umbrella term to refer to all people who deviate from their assigned gender at birth or the binary gender system” (International Spectrum).

Transnational corporation: “A company that has affiliate or subsidiary companies in at least one other country. It is commonly used interchangeably with ‘multinational corporation’, although the former term may imply that the company has more completely transcended its national origins” (Stilwell: 392).

Value: “The worth attributed to a good or service. This may refer objectively to its intrinsic properties, such as the amount of labor, materials, or energy that go into making it. It may be a more subjected notion, referring to the utility the good or service yields to the person who owns or consumes it. Alternatively, it may simply be regarded as its market price” (Stilwell: 392).

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